2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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snatch away some human being to bear them company. If the ghost longs 765
to renew intercourse and return at night for this purpose, it is the old spouse who suffers, never the new partner. No woman remains a widow because men are afraid to marry her. The Kaingáng are forever daring the supernatural anyway.

The children belong to their parents, if one can speak of "belonging" in 593
a society in which children are not valued as property. What we so strongly idealize the Kaingáng actually feel, for to them children are like highly charged emotional batteries. They are valued for their potentialities as emotionally satisfying living things, like most other pets.[11] There is no idea expressed that when they grow up they will feed and protect their parents,[12] 887
for in nomadic days the latter knew only too well the whims that urged and the necessities that compelled their children to wander away from them. They themselves had felt the desire to go north or west or east to see the country or to attack the Brazilians, and they too had left their own parents to follow the camps of their wives' relatives. But when children are left fatherless it often devolves upon the father's family to take care of them, for they feel that responsibility, and it is in this way that it comes about that a widow often marries someone of her husband's kin. She goes where her [587]
children are, and it is there, in the midst of her husband's close kin, that she begins her sex life anew and often finds her new husband.

It is a similar factor of residence that brings it about that in the majority 595
of cases the co-spouses in a polygynous or polyandrous marriage are either siblings or first cousins. For in the closer relationship that springs up among the members of the families related by marriage the most obvious choice is a person whom one sees all the time and with whom, therefore, one delights to have an affair. Since this choice rests almost wholly with the widow and since it is conditioned by a large number of accidental factors, principally what men are available at the moment, her new husband is as likely to be older than her dead husband as younger. Even when he is past middle age a man is still a vigorous hunter, and even if he is an old man, he can depend on someone to help toward the support of his household. His wife may philander as she will, but she is still his wife, and if he [624]
catches or suspects her he may beat her or even put a club through her chest.

If we were to believe Yatí as quoted by Thunder Storm's son, we could say that Thunder Storm acquired his third wife because he was an outstanding figure. But I am inclined to doubt this. His third wife was

[11] The Kaingáng, like many South American peoples, keep pet monkeys, pigs, quail and hawks. Only the latter are used—for their feathers. Dogs are not pets; emotionally they belong rather in the category of unrelated human beings.

[12] It is true, nevertheless, that the parents could generally depend to some extent on their children's help, particularly before marriage.

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Later in the day Kanyahé took it into his head to make fun of me. 839
"You're always walking around making love," he shouted. "No I'm not," I yelled back. We had a large audience. "You make love everywhere," Kanyahé bellowed; "everybody sees you!" "You lie, you're the one who makes love." "You bet I do," he roared. This was my cue to see how far he was willing to walk on thin ice, and I retaliated: "No one has to see you. It is the talk of everyone, how much you walk about taking women." This was too much even for Kanyahé. He dropped the subject immediately without another word and turned to weeding. Through it all Yakwá stood, his powerful hands on the handle of his scythe, a broad smile on his face, completely enjoying the show.

This affair throws into bold relief the fate that awaits the principals in a conflict whose solution is prevented by a possessive husband. The jealous husband pursues his wife to the point where his behavior causes much smiling behind polite hands. His endless quarrels with her culminate in blows and often in dissolution of the marriage. Yakwá's threat to kill Kanyahé would never have been carried out because murder in Kaingáng [634] society must have a background of vendetta,[5] but it illustrates well the complete break between the two men.

Another drama enacted by a mother and a son-in-law, illustrates the 595 ever-ripening character of this relationship. Just as they have resolved the 606 struggle between a man and his son for the same woman through the son's marriage to his stepmother, the Kaingáng have arrested the conflict between a woman and her daughter for the same man by the man's marrying his mother-in-law too.[6] Instead of surrounding the mother-in-law with disrupting taboos that send the son-in-law flying when he hears her coming or keeping him cooling his heels outside as long as his mother-in-law, whose face he may not see, is in the house, the Kaingáng have developed the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law to the point where he sometimes marries her and becomes the second father of her children. Such was the relationship between Kuvén and Kanngá's mother and between the captive Nyepá and his mother-in-law, Kuichó. Yakwá has no one to take care of him if his wife Anggló chooses to remain at the post while he goes hunting with me and the Indians. But if his widowed mother-in-law, whose household he never left as long as she was alive, went along, his food was cooked when he came back after a long day's range in the forest just as if she had been his wife and there were always fresh fern leaves for him to stretch his body on. At night he slept beside the old woman or at her feet across the campfire. When he moved camp it was she who carried his few belongings, and when she needed a basket it was

[5] See pp. 52, 62.
[6] I have no instances of a man's marrying his daughter-in-law.